CHAPTER VII.

KRISHNARĀJA WODEYAR II, 1734-1766—(*contd.*)

The Mysorean struggle for Trichinopoly, 1752-1755: The demand for cession, June 1752: Nanjarajaiya *vs.* Muhammad Ali—Muhammad Ali evades—Nanjarajaiya prepares for the siege—Renewed negotiations of Muhammad Ali, June-July 1752—His visit to Nanjarajaiya—His departure to Fort St. David, July 1752—A period of suspense and trial, July-December 1752—Nanjarajaiya tries indirect means, July-October 1752—Murari Rao's attitude towards him, July-December 1752—Nanjarajaiya at Srirangam, December 1752-January 1753—A surprise attack on the Mysoreans, January 1753—Nanjarajaiya prepares for the blockade of Trichinopoly, January-March 1753—His claim to the place—The Mysoreans push through the siege: March-April 1753—May 1753—Nanjarajaiya's negotiations for French alliance, *c.* June, July-December 1752—January-June 1753—The English attitude on the Trichinopoly question: June-July 1752—August-September 1752—November 1752-May 1753—Their attempted compromise between Mysore and Muhammad Ali, January-May 1753—Mysore and the French *vs.* Muhammad Ali and the English, 1753-1754—The siege continues: June 1753—July-December 1753—January-August 1754.

ON the fall of Chandā Sāhib, runs the chronicle,[1] Nanjarājaiya sent word to Muhammad Alī, demanding the cession to Mysore of the fort of Trichinopoly in compliance with his agreement. At first Muhammad Alī seemed willing to act up to his promise, desiring Nanjarājaiya personally to inspect the fort and arrange for garrisoning it. Accordingly, Nanjarājaiya, accompanied by a select retinue, proceeded thither. As he was about to enter the place after passing

The Mysorean struggle for Trichinopoly, 1752-1755:

The demand for cession, June 1752.

Nanjarājaiya *vs.* Muhammad Alī.

1. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 6-7.

Scale of 880 Yards or Half a Mile.

20 40 80 160 240 320 400 480 560 640 720 800 880

T R I T C H I N A P O L Y

through the outer enclosure, Haidar Alī, who attended on him, foreseeing a plot at work, began to prevail on him to retrace his steps. At this juncture, Muhammad Alī, as anticipated, having securely closed the principal and wicket gates, started cannonading from above, and would have persisted in his course but for his mother who, reprimanding him for his treachery towards his ally, forthwith threw open the gates and allowed Nanjarājaiya and his followers to depart in safety.

Muhammad Alī evades.

The ulterior motives of Muhammad Alī in regard to Trichinopoly, soon stood revealed. As the contemporary Diarist records,[2] "the Mysore Raja's people, including even the Vakil, are not allowed even to enter the fort. Muhammad Ali Khan told them that the English had occupied it and refused either to give it up or allow any to enter." In vain did his brother Abdul Wāhab Khān remonstrate with him to surrender the fort and continue the alliance with Mysore.[3]

Nanjarājaiya prepares for the siege.

Determined to take the fort, Nanjarājaiya promptly replied by encamping with his entire army before the walls of Trichinopoly, and, enlisting the services of Murāri Rao and his troops (at rupees 5,000 a day) as well as some matchlock people and horsemen (who had lately deserted the French), prepared to attack Muhammad Alī.[4] The combined forces, further, refused to march on with the latter's army (under Major Lawrence) towards Gingee, "till he had complied with his promise of giving up Trichinopoly to the King of Mysore."[5]

2. *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 129, 133: *Notes* dated July 7 and 10, 1752. The dispute between Nanjarājaiya and Muhammad Alī over the cession of Trichinopoly is found first referred to in the *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1752), p. 22: *Consultation* dated June 29, 1752.
3. *Ibid*, 166: *Notes* dated August 13, 1752.
4. *Haid. Nām.* ff. 7; also *Di. A. Pi.*, 133 *supra*.
5. *Mad. Desp.* (1744-1755), pp. 172-173: *Despatch* dated July 5, 1752; also *Di. Cons. Bk.*, l.c.

Renewed negotiations of Muhammad Alī, June-July, 1752.

By the end of June, Muhammad Alī sought to negotiate through his Vakīl, proposing to make over to the Mysoreans the fort and the country of Trichinopoly as soon as he was settled in Arcot, and offering them the English guarantee to that effect.[6] Nanjarājaiya, however, in keeping with Muhammad Alī's original agreement, insisted on the prompt delivery of the fort and its dependencies as a condition precedent to his escorting the Nawāb to Arcot.[7] In the meanwhile the Mysore troops had begun the blockade of Trichinopoly, intercepting the passage of provisions thither.[8] Early in July, Muhammad Alī secretly managed to win over Murāri Rao to his side,[9] paying him rupees two lakhs as the price for affording assistance to him against the French.[10] He also, through Murāri's mediation, entered into a fresh agreement with Nanjarājaiya, by which he undertook to arrange, by means of a *sanad* from the Governor of Madras, to deliver up the fort to Mysore within two months (as and from June 9), while the Mysoreans, in the meantime, were to be allowed to station a Killedār with 200 men in the fort, and to maintain uninterrupted the flow of provisions thereto.[11]

His visit to Nanjarājaiya.

On the conclusion of this agreement, Muhammad Alī, accompanied by Murāri Rao, proceeded on a visit to Nanjarājaiya.[12] At this, the latter's officers, we are told,[13] in

6. *Di. A. Pi.*, l.c.; also *Mad. Desp.*, p. 173 *supra*.
7. *Ibid*; also *Di. Cons. Bk.*, l.c. 8. *Haid. Nām.*, l.c.; also *Ibid*.
9. *Ibid*, ff. 8. 10. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* No. 88 (1753?).
11. *Haid. Nām.*, l.c.; *Count. Corres.* (1753), pp. 11, 29 and 70, *Letter* Nos. 11, 48 and 120, cited *infra*; cf. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (l.c.), referring to "700 peons" originally permitted to be sent into the fort; see also and compare *Sel. Pesh. Daft.* (l.c.), *Letter* Nos. 84 (dated September 18, 1752) and 96 (dated March 3, 1753), speaking of Muhammad Alī as having held up one of Nanjarājaiya's captains (*i.e.*, Katti Gōpālarāja Urs) with 500 men in the fort of Trichinopoly. Orme and Wilks refer to the number as 700. The authority of the contemporary chronicle *Haid. Nām.* seems more acceptable as a correct indication of the position on the Mysore side.
12. *Haid. Nām.*, l.c. 13. *Ibid*, ff. 8-9.

view of the impossibility of their taking possession of Trichinopoly once Muhammad Alī was away in Madras, represented in right earnest to Nanjarājaiya the feasibility of capturing him (Muhammad Alī) with a view to his eventual release. Nanjarājaiya, however, rejected with disdain the proposal, thoroughly relying on Murāri Rao as sufficient guarantee for the Nawāb's performance of his compact. Muhammad Alī's visit proved a success, and was followed by the entry into the fort of two Mysorean officers, Katti Gōpālarāja Urs and [Pradhān] Channappaiya, with 200 sepoys.[14] At the same time, Śrīrangam was by agreement delivered to Nanjarājaiya who seemed, on the whole, to be "outwardly reconciled with the Nabob."[15]

His departure to Fort St. David, July 1752.

About the middle of July, Muhammad Alī, having placed his brother-in-law Khair-ud-dīn in charge of the fort with an English detachment under Captain Dalton, marched off towards Fort St. David (Devanampatan) with his own and the English army, accompanied by Abdul Wāhab Khān.[16]

14. *Ibid*, ff. 9.

15. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1752), p. 23: *Consultation* dated July 8, 1752. According to *Fr. Corres.* (1752), pp. 48, 80, *Letter* Nos. 4 and 17 (dated May 11 and August 3, 1752), a sum of rupees sixty lakhs had been promised by the king of Mysore to the English as soon as they had taken Śrīrangam ("Cheringham pagoda").

16. *Sel. Pesh. Daft., Letters* cited in f.n. 11 *supra*. *Captain Dalton*: In view of the prominent part taken by Dalton in the Trichinopoly affair, the following details of his career may be set down here: Son of Captain James Dalton; 2nd Lieutenant of Marines to H. M. S. *Preston* of 50 guns commanded by Captain, the Earl of Northesk, December 2, 1743; arrived at Fort St. David, July 22, 1745; First lieutenant, December 18, 1746, under Admiral Boscawen; discharged from the Preston, served at Fort St. David; offered and accepted a Captain's commission and the command of the Grenadier Company newly formed, 1751; gave evidence in the case of Rev. F. Fordyce *vs.* Lieut. Clive, which ended in the dismissal from service of Fordyce, 1749; in expedition against Dēvikōṭah, 1749; took part in the English fight for Trichinopoly, on behalf of Muhammad Alī, 1751-1752; appointed to the command of Trichinopoly for and on behalf of the English, June 15, 1752; defended it; relieved by Lawrence, first on May 6, 1753, and again on September 21; resigned his

A period of suspense and trial, July-December 1752.

In the wake of Muhammad Alī's departure, a period of suspense and trial followed. During July-August, Nanjarājaiya with Murāri Rao lay encamped outside Trichinopoly, anxiously waiting for the delivery of the fort on the expiry of the stipulated period, and demanding to be put in possession of Jambukēśvaram and other advanced outposts.[17] He also sent Vakīl Śēshagiri-Pant and Barakki Venkaṭa Rao to Fort St. David and Madras respectively, to negotiate on the subjects, with positive instructions to press for the payment of actual expenses incurred by him on the Trichinopoly business as an alternative for the fort.[18] His efforts, however, were attended with little success, Muhammad Alī having, as we shall see in the sequel, begun to evade the issue under pretence of mediation by his allies (the English). In vain did Nanjarājaiya move the matter with Khair-ud-dīn at Trichinopoly through Vakīl Vinnāji-Pant.[19] At length, on August 10, he shifted his camp to a high ground near Uraiyūr, from where he continued to put forward his claim to Trichinopoly,[20] offering at the same time to assist Muhammad Alī with 3,000 horse if only he satisfied his demand for

commission, March 1, 1754; sailed for England, March 10, 1754, with a fortune of £10,000; married Isabella, daughter of Sir John Wray, Bart., of Glentworth, Lincolnshire, and Sleningford Park, Yorkshire, March 7, 1756; had three sons and three daughters; died, July 11, 1811. He is to-day remembered at Trichinopoly by the "Dalton's Battery," on which an unsuccessful attack was made by the French in 1754. Robert Orme, the historian, "transferred a great part of the contents of the Ms. journal kept by Captain Dalton, during the last few years of his service in India, to his *History of the War in India*, which appeared in 1763. Much of the credit that devolved upon Orme for his historical production was really due to Dalton" (see *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, by Charles Dalton, 1886).

17. *Ibid*; also *Di. Cons. Bk.*, pp. 27, 32-33, 34, 37: *Consultations* dated July 27, August 17, 24 and 31, 1752.

18. *Count. Corres.* (1753), pp. 11, 29, *Letter* Nos. 11 and 48, cited *infra*; *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 8.

19. *Ibid*; also *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 42: *Consultation* dated September 18, 1752.

20. *Press List* (1750-1754), p. 435: *Letter* No. 2887, dated August 10, 1752.

the "possession of all the outposts which command every avenue to the fort."[21] He wrote also to the Nawāb, threatening to plunder his Arcot country through the Mahrattas under Murāri, if he failed to comply with his late agreement.[22] In September, Nanjarājaiya raised permanent lodgings in his old camp in front of the Trichinopoly fort, with a view to his eventually securing it.[23] In October, the Maravas and other Pāḷegārs of Maduŕa and Diṇḍigal, in alliance with Pratāp Singh of Tanjore, rose in revolt against the authority of Mysore in the south, keenly contesting her claims on Trichinopoly and engaging Nanjarājaiya and Murāri Rao at Karūr.[24] By October 28, Nanjarājaiya had moved on to Śrīrangam,[25] which became the principal centre of his activities and the base of his operations from about December 18 onwards.[26] In the meanwhile, he had, in November, received a letter from his elder brother Dēvarājaiya at Seringapatam, advising him to return to Mysore,[27] but he was reported to have declared his determination "to die rather than return with dishonour" so long as the Nawāb (Muhammad Alī) had neither delivered him the fort of Trichinopoly nor paid up his expenses.[28]

Nanjarājaiya tries indirect means, July-October 1752.

All through the period the attitude of Khair-ud-dīn and Captain Dalton (at Trichinopoly) towards Nanjarājaiya was marked by suspicion and distrust, which was, in some measure, responsible for the indirect means adopted by him (Nanjarājaiya) to achieve

21. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, pp. 32-33 *supra*.
22. *Ibid*, p. 35: *Consultation* dated August 30, 1752.
23. *Press List*, p. 454, *Letter* No. 3031, dated September 25, 1752.
24. *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 239, 242, 247: *Notes* dated October 9, 10 and 20; also *Di. Cons. Bk.*, pp. 51-55; *Consultation* dated October 2 and 16, 1752.
25. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 66: *Consultation* dated October 28, 1752.
26. *Press List*, p. 485, *Letter* No. 3236, dated December 18, 1752.
27. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 68: *Consultation* dated November 13, 1752.
28. *Ibid.*

his object. Shortly after the departure of Muhammad Alī to Fort St. David, the Mysoreans in the fort of Trichinopoly met with resistance and opposition at the hands of the Nawāb's men during their movements to and from the fort.[29] This led to a plot by them "to get possession of Trichinopoly by arming the French prisoners and murdering him [Captain Dalton], then to seize one of the gates and let in a body of 4,000 horse."[30] The plot was, however, discovered [by July 20], the person entrusted with the execution "having been honest enough to confess it and produce the king's [Nanjarājaiya's] *choup* countersigned by his secretary"; the Mysoreans were deprived of their weapons and their officer, Katti Gōpālarāja Urs, was confined within.[31] Another plot, by which Nanjarājaiya sought to secure Trichinopoly by bribing Captain Dalton, equally failed (July 27).[32] From August 9 onwards, Nanjarājaiya had recourse to the stoppage of provisions to Trichinopoly;[33] and in October, to a threat to declare open war on the Nawāb, and "a heavy tax on everything" that passed into the town.[34] In fine, he left "no method untry'd to

29. *Count. Corres.* (1753), p. 49, *Letter* No. 89, cited *infra*.
30. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, pp. 25-26: *Consultation* dated July 20, 1752.
31. *Ibid*; see also *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 96, cited *supra*. *Choup* or *Chop* signifies the seal on which is engraved the name of the king and the year of his reign. The person entrusted with the execution of this plot in the main was, according to Orme, one Clement Poverio, a Neapolitan, who commanded a company of Topasses in the Nawāb's service. Dalton, on Poverio's confession, sought to turn the plot to his own advantage by entrapping the Mysoreans, but Khair-ud-dīn, "with his usual timidity and weakness of mind, stopped the enterprise" (see Charles Dalton, *infra*, quoting Orme; Wilks also refers to this affair, I. 321-322). Curiously enough, Poverio's name does not find mention in the *Consultation* we have cited. Orme seems evidently to be writing here from personal knowledge.
32. *Press List*, pp. 428-429; *Letter* No. 2841, dated July 27, 1752.
33. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 84, cited *supra*. The stoppage of provisions, according to this record, was begun from the time of the expiry of the promised period (*i.e.*, from August 9, 1752). See also and compare *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 27 *supra*, and *Count. Corres.* (1753), p. 49, *Letter* No. 89, cited *infra*.
34. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 55: *Consultation* dated October 16, 1752.

gain his point by corruption."[35] While he continued to press Khair-ud-dīn for the release of Katti Gōpālarāja Urs,[36] he did not forget "to lay up prodigious quantities of provisions,"[37] and "to make persistent demands for the money spent by him on the Nabob's account."[38]

Murāri Rao's attitude towards him, July-December 1752.

Of perhaps greater concern to Nanjarājaiya during the period was the attitude of his ally Murāri Rao, which was by no means consistent or safe. Murāri's mediation in the dispute over the cession of Trichinopoly to Mysore (July 1752) resulted in a ruinous and most exorbitant charge to Nanjarājaiya, who was made to pay heavily both him and the Nawāb.[39] On the morrow of the latter's departure from Trichinopoly, differences on the subject between Murāri and Nanjarājaiya naturally arose,[40] and were apparently made up in August by a solemn treaty known to have been ratified by them at the Śrīrangam temple.[41] Murāri, while he continued openly to profess his alliance with Mysore, was amusing Khair-ud-dīn (at Trichinopoly) with the offer of a treaty,[42] and towards the close of August despatched 2,000 Mahrattas under his paymaster Yoonas Khān and Cheṭṭappa (Seṭṭappa), to assist Muhammad Alī against the French in the Arcot province.[43] On this

35. *Ibid*, pp. 103-104: *Consultation* dated December 30, 1752; see also *Press List*, p. 465, *Letter* No. 3105 (dated October 23, 1752), referring to the discovery of a conspiracy to murder Captain Dalton, etc.

36. *Ibid*, p. 66, *supra*. 37. *Ibid*.

38. *Press List*, p. 482: *Letter* No. 3220, dated December 14, 1752. For an account of the transactions from the English point of view, see Charles Dalton, *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, Chap. IX. 146-170, based on Orme's *History* and Dalton's *Journal*. Nanjarājaiya is mentioned in this work as "Regent" of the king of Mysore, an appellation by which he is generally referred to by Orme even though he (Nanjarājaiya) was no longer *regent* after Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar II had attained his majority in 1746.

39. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 21: *Consultation* dated July 13, 1752; also *Count. Corres.* (1753), p. 70, *Letter* No. 120, cited *infra*.

40. *Ibid*, pp. 25-26: *Consultation* dated January 13 and 20, 1752.

41. *Ibid*, p. 34: *Consultation* dated August 24, 1752. 42. *Ibid*.

43. *Ibid*, p. 37: *Consultation* dated August 31, 1752.

occasion Murāri appeared to view with disfavour the Mysorean claims to Trichinopoly, a behaviour, perhaps, best reflected in a message he sent to Captain Dalton, "expressing his great satisfaction that Trichinopoly is not delivered up, saying that he would never be easy to see it in the King of Mysore's possession."[44] During September-October, Murāri was in the employ of both Mysore and Muhammad Alī, and was known to be receiving from the latter a salary of rupees 7,000 a day.[45] At the same time, as he continued his professions of attachment to them, he was suspected (in August) of negotiating a treaty for an alliance with Dupleix at Pondicherry.[46] In September, however, shortly after Lawrence had defeated the French at Bahūr (September 6), Dupleix sought Murāri's assistance against Muhammad Alī and wrote to him offering a larger sum of money than he received from Mysore, and to spare as many firelocks as he needed for his use.[47] Murāri at first affected to be unwilling to enlist himself in the cause of the French, replying that "his present engagement with the Mysore Dalaway puts it out of his power to enter into any other service."[48] Early in October, however, Dupleix sent Mirza Abdul Nabi Beig to treat with him, offering him rupees two lakhs if he marched with his army and attacked and slew Muhammad Alī, and another two lakhs after the latter had been disposed of.[49] Towards the close of October, Murāri was reported to have accepted the offer (striking the bargain at six lakhs, three to be paid directly into the hands of Yoonas Khān, the other three some time later), undertaking to engage his troops in the French service on a monthly subsistence of rupees one and a half lakhs.[50] It was not, however,

44. *Ibid.* 45. *Ibid*, p. 58: *Consultation* dated October 25, 1752.
46. *Ibid*, pp. 32-33: *Consultation* dated August 17, 1752.
47. *Ibid*, p. 42: *Consultation* dated September 18, 1752. 48. *Ibid.*
49. *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 234-235: *Notes* dated October 7, 1752.
50. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 66 *supra*; cf. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 88, cited *supra*.

till about the end of December 1752 that Murāri Rao marched on towards Pondicherry to join the French.[51]

Nanjarājaiya at Śrīrangam, December 1752-January 1753.

By now Nanjarājaiya, in fond hopes of the delivery of Trichinopoly fort, had lain encamped with his forces (numbering about 5,500 men) at Śrīrangam, part of them remaining under its walls and the rest in the temple.[52] "The Dalaway's [Nanjarājaiya's] people," says an advice referring to their activities,[53] "continue to collect all the grain about Trichinopoly to the very walls, and frequently appear in small parties with drawn swords to the great terror of the people, and even came to one of the advanced posts, but on the seapoys [sepoys] there preparing to receive them they thought proper to move off. Finding he could obtain no redress from the Dalaway, he [Captain Dalton] ordered the guards at the advanced posts to fire on them if they attempted to cut the paddy." This had led to a slight skirmish at Wayconda, in which several of the Mysoreans were wounded.[54] The movements of Murāri Rao, too, had become a source of alarm to Khair-ud-dīn and Captain Dalton, the latter having received instructions from Madras to attack the Mysoreans on receipt of news of his (Murāri's) having joined the French.[55] He was "to act immediately against the King of Mysore and distress him to the utmost of his power, if he does not instantly consent to recall Moraree [Murāri]."[56]

A surprise attack on the Mysoreans, January 1753.

About the beginning of January 1753, shortly after Murāri's departure to Pondicherry, Captain Dalton took up his lodgings in a choultry near Śrīrangam to bombard it.[57] At 2 o'clock on the morning

51. *Vide* references cited *infra*.
52. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1753), p. 10: *Consultation* dated January 3, 1753.
53. *Ibid.* 54. *Ibid.*
55. *Press List*, p. 485: *Letter* No. 3236, cited *supra*.
56. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 12: *Consultation* dated January 5, 1753.
57. *Press List*, p. 496: *Letter* No. 3314, dated January 15, 1753.

of the 3rd, while the troops of Nanjarājaiya were lying fast asleep in the enclosure of the temple, the Captain, accompanied by Khair-ud-dīn and a select body of sepoys and soldiers, surprised them by brisk firing.[58] "The balls," as Nanjarājaiya wrote,[59] "missed, and 4 or 5 men only were wounded." Astounded at this, the horsemen and sepoys of Mysore prepared themselves to oppose the assailants. The latter beat a hasty retreat, but early on the same morning appeared again with "guns, wall-pieces and fire-locks, took possession of Ammamandapam and from there began to throw shells into the Srirangam pagoda."[60] The Mysore horse (under Hari Singh and Haidar Alī) promptly charged and chased the enemy, terminating the skirmish by the seizure of some firelocks.[61]

Nanjarājaiya prepares for the blockade of Trichinopoly, January-March 1753.

Hostilities, however, continued. Nanjarājaiya, immediately after the incident of January 3, recalled the main body of his horse (numbering in all 6,000) stationed in Madura, Diṇḍigal, Vijayamangalam, Karūr, Krishṇarājapuram and other places in the south,[62] and wrote to Murāri Rao (who appears to have still retained his professions of friendship to Mysore) that he would go to Karūr after establishing outposts in Śrīrangam and Jambukēśvaram.[63] About the end of January, he made an entrenchment round the fort of Trichinopoly and attempted to take it by a stratagem by releasing and entertaining 100 Frenchmen formerly imprisoned there.[64] This led to an action between

58. *Count. Corres.* (1753), p. 11, *Letter* No. 11, cited *infra*.
59. *Ibid.* 60. *Ibid*; also p. 29, *Letter* No. 48, cited *infra*.
61. *Ibid*; see also and compare *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 9; Charles Dalton, *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, Chap. X. 171-182.—The Mysore peons in the Trichinopoly Fort were, according to Dalton's letter quoted in this work (*o.c.*, p. 179), turned out bag and baggage shortly after this incident, and a guard kept over Katti Gōpālarāja Urs ("Gopaul Rauze").
62. *Ibid*, p. 12. 63. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 91, dated January 26, 1753.
64. *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 275-276: *Notes* dated January 31, 1753; see also *Count. Corres.*, p. 20: *Letter* No. 35, dated February 25, 1753—Tanjore (*i.e.*, king Pratāp Singh) to Saunders.

the troops of Mysore and those of Muhammad Alī and the English, in which the latter lost 70 men and 2 officers, the casualties on the Mysore side being few.[65] At the same time, Nanjarājaiya detached some of his forces to Coyiladi and Tercatpelly to curb Pratāp Singh of Tanjore who was assisting Muhammad Alī.[66] On February 12, says a *Despatch*,[67] "the Dallovoy fired 20 guns for joy at Srirangam," and moved on towards Karūr to join a portion of Murāri's forces there. By the end of February he had secured both Śrīrangam and Jambukēśvaram.[68] Early in March he began the blockade of Trichinopoly at the head of 6,000 horse and nearly 15,000 men.[69]

His claim to the place.

In the meantime Nanjarājaiya had also been strongly urging his claim to Trichinopoly, thoroughly believing in the justice of his cause. The acquisition of Trichinopoly had been for long, and particularly since the extinction of the Nāyak kingdom of Madura in 1736, the objective of Mysore's expansion in the south as the first and foremost step in furtherance of the old Vijayanagar imperialistic ideal, namely, the domination of the whole of Southern India from the Tungabhadra to

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65. *Mad. Desp.*, p. 184: *Despatch* dated February 21, 1753; also *Count. Corres.*, l.c.

66. *Count. Corres.*, p. 21 *supra*; also p. 24: *Letter* No. 42, dated March 5, 1753—Tanjore to Saunders. *Coyiladi*: Koiladi; 17 miles W.N.W. from Tanjore. The Grand Anicut is about 5 miles from this place. It takes its name from two old temples, one dedicated to Vishnu and the other to Śiva. Formerly the head-quarters of a Dy. Tahsildar. *Tercatpelly*: Tirukāṭṭupalli; 13 miles W.N.W. from Tanjore. The Kudamūrthi branches off from the Cauvery here. The old temple of Śiva here is dedicated to Agnīśvara. The fort is now in ruins.

67. *Ibid*, p. 26: *Letter* No. 45, dated March 10, 1753—Nawāb to Saunders; also *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 93, dated February 13, 1753.

68. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 96, dated March 3, 1753 (cited in f.n. 11 *supra*); also *Count. Corres.*, p. 29, *Letter* No. 48, cited *infra*.

69. *Ibid*; also *Count. Corres.*, pp. 24, 26, *Letter* Nos. 42 and 45, cited *supra*; Charles Dalton, *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, Chap. X. 182-185; and Chap. XI. 186-208.

Rāmēśvaram.[70] It was to realise this objective that Mysore had so readily offered to join Muhammad Alī against Chandā Sāhib. And it stipulated no other consideration than the cession of Trichinopoly itself to her. Muhammad Alī had solemnly agreed to this condition without the slightest demur. But from the beginning he never meant to keep his word. Muhammad Alī, indeed, as we have shown, evaded compliance with both his first and second agreements in June and August 1752; and systematically put off fulfilling it, especially during September-January (1753).[71] He even wrote "that he was at war with Morarey [Murāri Rao] and that as soon as he had punished him with defeat, he should deliver the fort" to Mysore.[72] Despairing of a fulfilment of even this promise, Nanjarājaiya at last resolved upon taking possession of Trichinopoly by any means open to him. With this determination, he advanced on the southern frontier of Mysore up to Karūr,[73] and prepared to sacrifice himself on that stake, having spent "caroats of money."[74] During January-March (1753), disappointed by Muhammad Alī and shocked by the treacherous night-attack (of January 3), he exchanged letters[75] on the subject with Thomas Saunders, the Nawāb's ally, pressing for the delivery of Trichinopoly fort or, as an alternative, the payment of his expenses on the Trichinopoly affair (of course, Nanjarājaiya knew well that Muhammad Alī could not undertake the latter, as he was in distress), and desiring him to send back Barakki

70. This appears, perhaps, best reflected in Nanjarājaiya's letters to Saunders, dated March 12 and May 3, 1753 (see *Count. Corres.*, pp. 28, 50, *Letter* Nos. 48 and 89; see also and compare *Di. A. Pi.*, VIIII. 133-134: *Notes* dated July 10, 1752). For earlier references to Trichinopoly as the objective of the southern expansion of Mysore, *vide* Vol. I, Chs. VIII, X and XI, and Chs. IV and VI of this Vol.

71. *Count. Corres.*, p. 70, *Letter* No. 120, cited *infra*. 72. *Ibid.*

73. *Ibid*, p. 50, *Letter* No. 89, cited *infra*.

74. *Ibid*, p. 28, *Letter* No. 48, cited *infra*.

75. *Ibid*, pp. 11-12, 28-30, and 37-38: *Letter* Nos. 11, 48 and 63, dated January 23, March 12 and 30, 1753—Daḷavāi to Saunders.

Venkaṭa Rao whom, he complained,[76] he (Saunders) had detained in Madras since July-August 1752. He also reminded him "to get the Nabob's reasonable agreement performed," referring to a letter alleged to have been written by Saunders himself to that effect.[77] Nanjarājaiya's attempt, however, met, as usual, with little success. Saunders, as will be seen from the sequel, assumed the attitude of a mediator bound to reconcile the conflicting interests of two obdurate parties like Nanjarājaiya and the Nawāb, being under the painful necessity of supporting the latter in what was obviously a flagrant breach of promise.

The Mysoreans push through the siege: March - April 1753.

The Mysoreans pushed on with vigour the siege of Trichinopoly. About March 26, however, the besiegers were repulsed by Captain Dalton while attacking an advanced battery before the fort.[78] "A good battle," states a *Letter*,[79] "has been again fought between the Mayasore people and those in the fort. Captain Dalton exerted himself

76. *Ibid*, p. 30, *Letter* No. 48; see also *Ibid*, pp. 50, 71-72, and 96, *Letter* Nos. 89, 120 and 156, cited *infra* (referring to the confinement of both Venkaṭa Rao and Śēshagiri-Pant at Madras and Fort St. David respectively). Venkaṭa Rao, according to the *Haid. Nām.* (ff. 8), was sent by Nanjarājaiya to Madras to obtain the Governor's *sanad* confirming him in the possession of Trichinopoly. By way of frustrating this object, however, he (Venkaṭa Rao) was detained in Madras at the instance of Muhammad Alī, during 1752-1755. Venkaṭa Rao's detention is referred to also in *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 96, cited *supra*. Cf. Saunders's letters to the Daḷavāi, pointing to the safety of Venkaṭa Rao's position in Madras (see *Count. Corres.*, pp. 14, 51 and 78, *Letter* Nos. 18, 90 and 125, cited *infra*). For further details about Venkaṭa Rao's detention, *vide* Ch. VIII, f.n. 65.

77. *Ibid*, pp. 11, 29-30, 37, 69, 79 and 95, *Letter* Nos. 11, 48, 49, 63, 120, 128 and 156, cited *supra* and *infra*. Copies of this alleged Persian letter, which Nanjarājaiya claimed to have in his custody, were not, however, produced, and its receipt denied, by Venkaṭa Rao before Saunders (see *Count. Corres.*, pp. 2-3, 14, 78 and 101, *Letter* Nos. 5, 18, 125 and 165, cited *infra*).

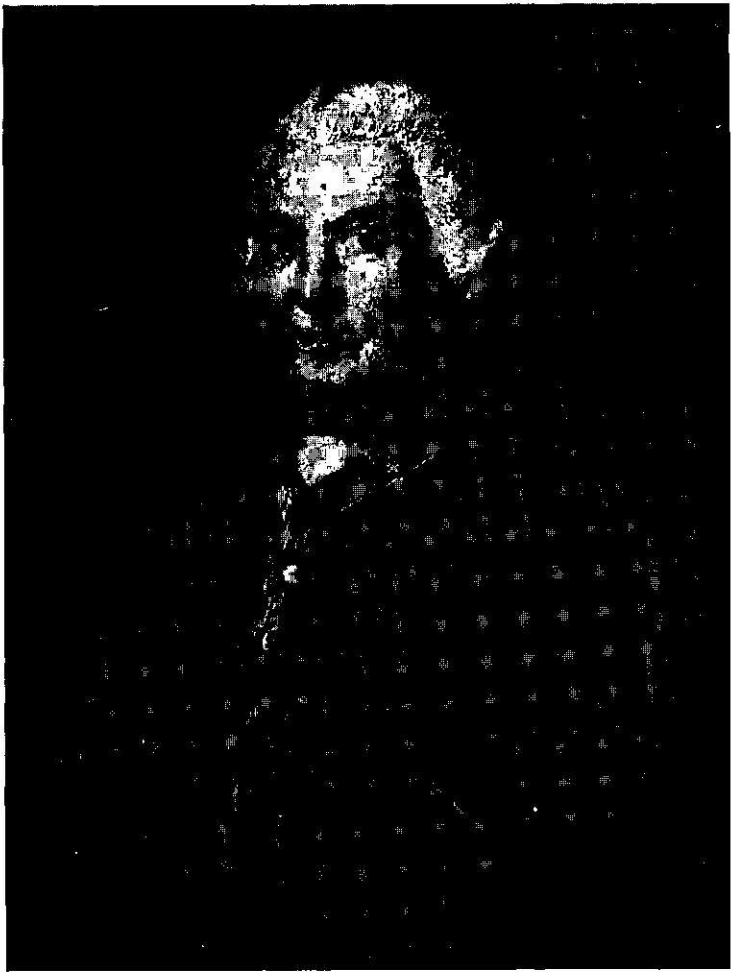
78. *Press List*, p. 532: *Letter* No. 3604, dated March 26, 1753.

79. *Count. Corres.*, p. 39: *Letter* No. 66, dated April 2, 1753—Nawāb to Saunders.

to the utmost and killed or wounded a great many of the enemy in so much that they were obliged to retreat to their camp." About this time, there even prevailed the news that Nanjarājaiya designed to return to Seringapatam on account of a Mahratta invasion of Mysore under Pēshwa Bālāji Rao.[80] Early in April, however, the Mysoreans resumed their activities, Nanjarājaiya having "spared no cost for enlisting sepoys with Europe arms" and "drawn together a body of at least 2,000 besides 4 companies of Topasses."[81] They surrounded the fort of Trichinopoly, intercepting "25 bullock load[s] of rice" and "all manner of provisions" going into the fort, "cutting off the noses of coolies," and reducing the besieged to abject distress for want of stores and water.[82] About the middle of April, Nanjarājaiya, it was reported,[83] even endeavoured to get possession of Trichinopoly by offering "large bribes." Towards the close of April the situation became serious. Khair-ud-dīn had imprudently sent into the Toṇḍamān's country a detachment of his troops, and there was no likelihood of his recalling it early.[84] The country round about Trichinopoly was attacked and devastated by the Mysore troops.[85] Provisions became dear. "A rupee," says a news-letter,[86] "cannot fetch 4 seers of rice, and the poor people are forsaking the fort for want of food." Nanjarājaiya pressed hard the siege.[87] In this extremity, Sētupati, the Marava chief of Rāmnāḍ, the Toṇḍamān and Pratāp Singh of Tanjore sent an express message to Muhammad Alī (now in the Tanjore territory), desiring him to march towards Trichinopoly and free it from

80. *Ibid.*
81. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 54: *Consultation* dated April 2, 1753.
82. *Ibid*, also pp. 57-58: *Consultations* dated April 8, 10 and 14, 1753.
83. *Ibid*, pp. 58-59: *Consultation* dated April 14, 1753; *Count. Corres.*, p. 44: *Letter* No. 77, dated April 16, 1753.
84. *Ibid*, p. 58 *supra.*
85. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 100, dated April 22, 1753.
86. *Ibid.* 87. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 101, dated April 23, 1753?

PLATE XI



Major Stringer Lawrence.

Nanjarājaiya, and promising even "to contribute towards the expenses of the campaign," as the latter's success, they were alarmed, would "threaten their own safety."[88] Captain Dalton also wrote to Madras,[89] representing the critical condition of the English garrison at Trichinopoly, and soliciting Major Lawrence's immediate personal march to his relief, "to put down the increasing strength of the Mysoreans" and "frighten the Dalavoy to flight." At Madras, it was observed that unless Trichinopoly was immediately relieved, "it must inevitably fall into the Mysorean hands, an event in its consequences more to be dreaded than the efforts of the enemy [the French] about Fort St. David."[90] At Pondicherry, on April 27-28, there prevailed the rumour, afterwards contradicted, that "the Mysoreans had taken Trichinopoly and that Muhammad Ali Khan had fled."[91]

May 1753. About the beginning of May, Muhammad Alī (after a hard struggle with the French and Murāri Rao at Tiruvaḍi, Fort St. David, Chidambaram and Pandanallūr, during January-April 1753) returned to Trichinopoly,[92] and was followed early in the month by the arrival of relieving forces from Madras under Major Lawrence by way of Māyavaram and Kumbakōṇam.[93] By May 14, the Mysoreans were forced to retreat to Śrīrangam, on being thrice attacked by Captain Dalton in their camp.[94] By

88. *Ibid.*
89. *Press List*, p. 544: *Letter* Nos. 3686 and 3696, dated April 21 and 23, 1753.
90. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 65: *Consultation* dated April 23, 1753.
91. *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 315, 318, 320-321: *Notes* dated April 27-29, 1753.
92. *Ibid*, 315, 320 and 327: *Notes* dated April 27-28, and May 3, 1753 (compared with *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* Nos. 100 and 101, cited *supra*).
93. *Ibid*, 327 *supra*. The relieving forces, according to this source, consisted of "1,000 English soldiers, 5,000 foot soldiers and 18 guns." See also *Count. Corres.*, p. 96, *Letter* No. 156, cited *infra*. According to Wilks (I. 333), Lawrence arrived at Trichinopoly on May 6, 1753.
94. *Press List*, p. 553: *Letter* No. 3743, dated May 14, 1753; see also and compare *Di. A. Pi.*, 327 *supra*.

the 20th the Nawāb won a complete victory over them,[95] and on the 28th they were again defeated by Lawrence near Śrīrangam.[96] Nevertheless Nanjarājaiya held his own, expecting a reinforcement from Seringapatam, and sanguine about his alliance with the French at Pondicherry.[97]

Nanjarājaiya's negotiations for French alliance: *c.* June, July - December 1752.

Since the outbreak of Muhammad Alī's dispute over the cession of Trichinopoly to Mysore (June-July 1752), there prevailed in Pondicherry expectations of an alliance of Mysore with the French, "to capture the fort and country of Trichinopoly."[98] Such an alliance seemed eminently to further Dupleix's overweening ambition, namely, the establishment of French sway over the whole of India including "Mysore, Tanjore and Trichinopoly, etc., countries" south of the Krishnā.[99] In August 1752, Nanjarājaiya was known to be in treaty with Dupleix "whose offers" were held "not satisfactory."[100] Early in October, however, Dupleix himself took the initiative, for, while negotiating for the services of Murāri Rao in his war against Muhammad Alī, he offered to secure Trichinopoly for Mysore, in return for which "the Raja of Mysore," it was stipulated, "is to pay 30 lakhs of rupees."[101] At the end of October, an alliance of Dupleix with "the Mysore King, Morattas and the Vellore Fouzdar" (Ghulām Murtazā Khān) seemed to be "on

95. *Count. Corres.*, p. 59: *Letter* No. 101, dated May 20, 1753—Abdul Wāhab Khān to Saunders; see also *Di. A. Pi.*, 341: *Notes* dated May 23, 1753.

96. *Press List*, p. 561: *Letter* No. 3796, dated May 23, 1753; also *Count. Corres.*, pp. 64-65: *Letter* No. 109, dated May 29, 1753—Tanjore to Saunders.

97. *Count. Corres.*, p. 67: *Letter* No. 114, dated May 31, 1753—Tanjore Vakīl to Saunders; also *Di. A. Pi.*, l.c.

98. *Di. A. Pi.*, 129-130, 133-134: *Notes* dated July 7 and 10, 1752.

99. *Ibid*, 136: *Notes* dated July 11, 1752.

100. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1752), pp. 32-33: *Consultation* dated August 17, 1752.

101. *Di. A. Pi.*, 234-235: *Notes* dated October 7, 1752.

the point of conclusion."[102] It was not, however, till about the end of December (1752) that Nanjarājaiya became really earnest about the alliance, Muhammad Alī having by now systematically failed to comply with his agreements. Accordingly, when, about this time, Murāri Rao marched on to Pondicherry, Nanjarājaiya sent with him his Vakīl Venkaṭanāraṇappa, to strike with Dupleix advantageous terms for Mysore.[103] At Pondicherry, Murāri, we are told,[104] remained indifferent, caring for his own interests.

January-June 1753.

Since January 1753, Venkaṭanāraṇappa was therefore left to rely on his own resources in conducting the negotiations.[105] In February, Dupleix, obviously to coerce Nanjarājaiya to accede to his own terms, wrote to him about his design to co-operate with Pēshwa Bālāji Rao in an invasion of Mysore for the realisation of the latter's alleged dues (*chauth*).[106] Dupleix's threat, however, remained unanswered.[107] Meantime Venkaṭanāraṇappa continued his diplomatic activities at Pondicherry. On April 21 he received a letter from Nanjarājaiya, "agreeing to all but one or two of the [French] proposals."[108] At the end of April, on the arrival of the English troops (under Major Lawrence) towards Māyavaram and Kumbakōṇam, Nanjarājaiya, as he tells us,[109] "entered into an agreement with the French who did the same with me on their part." In May, on the march of the English army to the relief of

102. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 85 : *Consultation* dated October 28, 1752.
103. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 9-10. 104. *Ibid*, ff. 10.
105. *Ibid*; see also *Di. A. Pi.*, 275 : *Notes* dated January 31, 1753 (referring to the Vakīl's presence at Pondicherry on that date).
106. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 94, dated February 22, 1753—Shāma Rao Yādava, Pondicherry, to Panta-Pradhān, Poona. See also and compare *Di. A. Pi.*, 282 (*Notes* dated February 16, 1753), with Dodwell's *Editorial note* and *Introduction*, p. xvii.
107. *Ibid.* 108. *Di. A. Pi.*, 309 : *Notes* dated April 21, 1753.
109. *Count. Corres.*, p. 96 : *Letter* No. 156, received July 24, 1753—Daḷavāi to Saunders.

Trichinopoly, he wrote repeatedly to Dupleix, asking for the services of one Hasan-ud-dīn Khān.[110] Dupleix seemed reluctant to comply with the request, at the end of May.[111] Nanjarājaiya's alliance with the French Governor does not, in fact, appear to have become a reality till June 8, when he sent him a Bill of Exchange for rupees 3 lakhs (towards 4-5 lakhs promised in the first instance), drawn on Achārām Tarwāḍi (Gumāsta of Kāśi Dās Bukkānji), payable at a month and a half's sight.[112] And it was not till about the middle of the month (of June) that Dupleix, in satisfaction of the Bill, despatched a corps of "300 French soldiers, infantry, guns, etc., to help Nandi Raja, the Dalavoy of Mysore, who is commanding the Srirangam camp, in order to take Trichinopoly."[113]

The English attitude on the Trichinopoly question: June-July 1752.

Almost simultaneously the English Government at Fort St. George, Madras, had been obliged to decide upon hostilities with Mysore. As indicated already, the attitude of Thomas Saunders and the members of his Council in regard to the Trichinopoly question since June 1752 was, in general, that of *allies* of the Mughal Government (*sarkār*) of the time and, in particular, that of *mediators* between Mysore and Muhammad Alī, though they were gradually led to support the latter to counteract the ambitious designs of Dupleix and safeguard the commercial interests of the English in South India. At a *Consultation* held on June 29, when news of Muhammad Alī's difference with Mysore first reached Madras, the President observed:[114] "The present dispute between the King of Mysore and

110. *Di. A. Pi.*, 345-346: *Notes* dated May 28, 1753. 111. *Ibid.*
112. *Ibid*, 353: *Notes* dated June 8, 1753.
113. *Ibid*, 355-356: *Notes* dated June 22, 1753. The French corps, according to the Diarist, was commanded by M. Astruc and M. Lavolonté Kōnapparangi.
114. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1752), p. 22.

the Nabob is an affair of the utmost consequence, in which we ought not to precipitate ourselves as the effects may be dangerous, for, should we who receive a jageer [*jahgīr*] for our alliance with the circar, be anyways instrumental to the separating so large a district [as Trichinopoly] from the subaship, we might draw upon ourselves the resentment of the Moors [Mughals] in general, at the same time as the Mysore King supplies the Nabob with men and money, should he withdraw his assistance, it would greatly embarass our affairs." Accordingly Saunders wrote[115] to Nanjarājaiya to send his Vakīl to Madras, "assuring him of his friendship and that no endeavours shall be wanting to settle everything to the satisfaction of both parties." According to a *Despatch* dated July 5,[116] the dilemma is thus depicted: "The Nabob admits he has no right to give away such large countries and the English are allied with the circar to protect it and cannot appear in such a transaction. Moreover Mysore is the Nabob's sole support and should that state and the Marathas join the French, the Nabob would be in a dangerous situation. Dupleix is doing his best to foment these dissensions." At another *Consultation* (July 27), the President recorded:[117] "It is now debated what measures are proper to be adopted at this critical juncture. On the one hand the Mysore King and Morattas [under Murāri Rao], disgusted at the Nabob's refusing to deliver up Trichinopoly according to agreement, are acting a part that leaves room to fear they may be induced to desert our cause and enter into an alliance with the enemy [the French], which, as they are a powerful people, may involve the province in a more terrible and destructive war than it has yet groaned under and create us fresh difficulties, and (? on the other) the only alternative is to comply with the Mysore King's

115. *Ibid*; also *Mad. Desp.* (1744-1755), p. 173: *Despatch* dated July 5, 1752.
116. *Mad. Desp.*, l.c. 117. *Di. Cons. Bk.*, p. 27.

demand, which in its consequences may be equally dangerous, for, as allies to the circar, we cannot, without drawing on ourselves the resentment of the whole country, be instrumental in alienating so valuable a part of its territories. Upon the whole we are of opinion that as the future success of the Company's affairs on this coast undoubtedly depends on checking M. Dupleix in his ambitious views, the most advisable steps to be now taken are to support the Nabob Anaverdy Khan [Muhammad Alī] in his rights and pretentions to the government of the Carnateck [Karnāṭak] country and give him all the assistance we can agreeable to our treaty, and at the same time use all prudent means to keep fair with the Mysore King and Morattas."

August-September 1752.

Again, on August 2, having at a meeting discussed the issue with the Mysore Vakīl Barakki Venkaṭa Rao and examined it from both the Mysore and the Nawāb's points of view, Saunders told Venkaṭa Rao that "we should not concern ourselves in this affair but that as we have a great regard for the King of Mysore, if the Nabob is inclined to deliver up Trichinopoly to him, we shall rather pursuade him to it than object."[118] And on the 3rd, having "weighed and considered" the matter, he resolved:[119] "As it will doubtless bring on the resentment of the circar, should we be concerned in alienating Trichinopoly, it is determined to be no further concerned in this affair than as it is a place of consequence to the Nabob in his present situation. We think it ought not to be delivered up as yet but that to prevent the Mysore King's being disgusted, it be hinted to him that when the Nabob is once settled in the province, if he can be prevailed on, and the circar's permission obtained, we shall have no objection." Further, on the 10th of the

118. *Ibid*, pp. 29-30: *Consultation* dated August 3, 1752.
119. *Ibid*, p. 30.

same month, while recording "letters from the Mysore King and Moraree [Murāri], the Moratta general, on the subject of the King's pretensions to Trichinopoly," Saunders resumed the consideration of the question, finding it "most advisable not to give them (the Mysoreans) any hopes of our assistance in obtaining their demand and in case they should join the enemy [the French] and declare against the Nabob, that we assist him to the utmost of our power, agreeable to our treaty with the circar."[120] On the 30th, it was "thought absolutely necessary to use our endeavours to convince the Mysoreans and Morattas that we are absolutely disinterested in this affair and shall not concern ourselves in it, either one way or the other."[121] On September 16, it was further recorded:[122] "In regard to the King of Mysore, as he has certainly advanced large sums of money on the Nabob's account which has been of great service to him, we think he [Nabob] ought in justice to assign some rents for the payment. If the King should not be satisfied with this but declare openly, he will be the aggressor and we must assist the Nabob against him as an enemy." On the 18th, the Government wrote[123] to Captain Dalton, "directing him to acquaint the King of Mysore that the Morattas [under Murāri] plunder all the country they pass through in their march this way and that as he has brought these people with him, we shall look upon him as answerable for all the damages they commit and shall write to Gazedy Khan [Ghāzi-ud-dīn, the legitimate claimant to the Subādāri of the Mughal Deccan] on that subject." Again, on the 22nd, the Captain was desired[124] to "endeavour to convince the King of Mysore that we have no other business with Trichinopoly than as it belongs to the circar and that our troops are there on that account and not our own."

120. *Ibid*, p. 31. 121. *Ibid*, p. 35. 122. *Ibid*, p. 39.
123. *Ibid*, p. 42. 124. *Ibid*, p. 48.

November 1752-May 1753.

The position of the English at Fort St. George on the subject is, perhaps, best summed up, and their views reflected, in a *Despatch* of theirs to the Court of Directors, London, dated November 3, 1752:[125] "The dispute between the Nabob and the King of Mysore continues. The latter has sent a Vakil to Madras with offers to support the Nabob if the English will guarantee the cession of Trichinopoly, but the Nabob declares that he has no power to execute his promise, which was made only out of dire necessity. Received a letter purporting to come from Salabat Jang, desiring the English to support Muhammad Ali and denying the latter's right to cede Trichinopoly. As the matter is intricate, have answered the King of Mysore that we are 'merchants, allies of the circar, and not principals,' that we cannot interfere in matters of this nature, but are willing to act as mediators. There is no doubt of the Nabob's having made the promise but both he and the King must have known that he could not fulfil it. The King is immensely rich and the acquisition of Trichinopoly would lead to his conquering Tanjore [where the English, and no less the French, had commercial settlements] and becoming overpowerful . . . In the south, Dupleix is negotiating with the Mysoreans and the Marathas." Again, as another source, dated May 6, 1753,[126] puts it: "The intentions of the English are not to take possession of the country for themselves. Their opinion is that if the country was under the Mogul's power, their trade might be carried on in safety, for which reason they have assisted Mahomed Ally Khan in several respects and supported him. They have never attempted to take possession of the whole country like the French."

125. *Mad. Desp.*, pp. 177, 179.

126. *Count. Corres.* (1753), p. 86: *Letter* No. 138—Vakil Krishṇāji-Pant to Pēshwa Bālāji Rao.

Their attempted compromise between Mysore and Muhammad Alī, January-May 1753.

In keeping with this position and with the course of affairs sketched in the foregoing pages, Saunders strove to make up matters between Muhammad Alī and Mysore. During January-May 1753 he successively wrote[127] to Nanjarājaiya, commenting on his hostile attitude towards the Nawāb and advising him to be reconciled to him. In February-March, he even tried to bring external pressure to bear upon both Nanjarājaiya and Murāri Rao, by writing to Pēshwa Bālāji Rao[128] and Sāiyid Lāshkar Khān (Dewān of Salābat Jang)[129] to advise them "to desist from their scheme and retire to their countries" in the interests of "the welfare of the Mogul's dominions." These attempts having proved ineffective, he next, in May, empowered Major Lawrence and Robert Palk "to reconcile the difference between the Nabob and the Mysore King" through the mediation of Pratāp Singh of Tanjore,[130] offering as the basis of settlement the mortgage of the Trichinopoly country to Mysore in satisfaction of the Nawāb's dues.[131] Nanjarājaiya having, however, declined the offer and insisted on his demand for "either the fort or the money lent in ready specie,"[132] Saunders, at last, on June 15, treated him as the Nawāb's enemy[133] and wrote,[134] warning him against the consequences of his alliance with the French.

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127. *Ibid*, pp. 2-3, 13-14, 36-37, and 51: *Letter* Nos. 5, 18, 62 and 90, dated January 6, 31, March 29, and May 3, 1753—Saunders to Daḷavāi.
128. *Ibid*, pp. 16, 24 and 34:-*Letter* Nos. 26, 41 and 58, dated February 12, March 4 and 23, 1753.
129. *Ibid*, p. 35: *Letter* No. 59, dated March 23, 1753.
130. *Vide* document quoted in Appendix II—(1).
131. *Count. Corres.*, p. 57: *Letter* No. 98, dated May 17, 1753—Tanjore to Saunders; p. 72: *Letter* No. 120, dated June 11, 1753—Daḷavāi to Saunders; also cf. Appendix II—(1).
132. *Ibid*.
133. *Ibid*, p. 78: *Letter* No. 124, dated June 15, 1753—Saunders to Tanjore.
134. *Ibid*, p. 78: *Letter* No. 125, dated June 15, 1753—Saunders to Daḷavāi.

Mysore and the French *vs.* Muhammad Alī and the English, 1753-1754.

With the appearance of the French and the English on the scene, the Mysorean struggle for Trichinopoly assumed a new aspect. It became an issue which was to be openly fought out by Mysore and Muhammad Alī as the principals, the French and the English—each enemy of the other—participating in it as their respective allies or auxiliaries. Among the country powers, Murāri Rao, while continuing in the service of the French, actively assisted Mysore, being paid for by both, while Muhammad Alī had the support of Pratāp Singh of Tanjore, the Toṇḍamān and the Marava chief, who, as we have seen, apprehended trouble to themselves from the activities of Mysore in South India. "The preservation of Trichinopoly," Muhammad Alī had urged upon his allies,[135] "will support his interest, as, on the contrary, the loss of it will reduce him to great distress"; to Mysore, the acquisition of Trichinopoly at any cost and risk meant, as indicated, the realization of her age-long ambition. Nanjarājaiya accordingly was resolved upon having the fort even if the enterprise lasted, as he said,[136] "five or seven years." It was on this footing that either side carried on the further stages in this contest for Trichinopoly.

The siege continues: June 1753.

By June 22, M. Astruc, with the French contingent sent in aid of Mysore, arrived and lay encamped at the four-pillared maṇṭapam, near Rāyagōpuram, Śrīrangam.[137] Then Nanjarājaiya marched on with his forces and the allied troops of Murāri Rao and the French, towards the plains of Trichinopoly.[138] On the 27th, Muhammad Alī,

135. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1753), p. 99: *Consultation* dated June 12, 1753.

136. *Count. Corres.*, p. 89: *Letter* No. 145, dated July 7, 1753—Tanjore to Saunders (quoting Nanjarājaiya's message). See also *Ibid*, p. 86: *Letter* No. 138, dated May 6, 1753—Krishnāji-Pant to Pēshwa Bālāji Rao (referring to "the Maysorian's resolution to take Trichinopoly").

137. *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 355-356: *Notes* dated June 22, 1753.

138. *Count. Corres.*, p. 94: *Letter* No. 155, dated July 11, 1753—Nawāb to Saunders; *Di. A. Pi.*, 363: *Notes* dated July 2, 1753.

with the English army under Major Lawrence, encountered him at Kaḷudai-malai,[139] a small fort north-east of Trichinopoly. In the engagement which followed, a number of Mysoreans, together with their horses as also several of the French, were killed; three of their guns, a mortar and four wagons loaded with stores, were made prize of; all the infantry except the slain flung away their arms and fled; one of Nanjarājaiya's principal officers fell along with Bālāji-Ghōrpaḍe, a sardār of Murāri Rao's army (whom Murāri, we are told, esteemed as his son), and 5-6 jamādārs and 20-30 troopers, while the French retreated with M. Astruc towards the Mysore camp, "abandoning their cannon, etc., and throwing away all they carried." [140]

July-December 1753.

About the middle of July, Muhammad Alī, assisted by the English and the Tanjore, Toṇḍamān and Maravа chiefs, again attacked and defeated Nanjarājaiya, forcing him to retreat with his allies to Śrīrangam, Tiruvānaikkōyil and Mānapparai.[141] Early in August, Nanjarājaiya (with M. Brenier as commander of the French troops), having recovered his ground, gave battle to Muhammad Alī at Trichinopoly, "in which two leaders of 500 men attacked Muhammad Ali Khan, killing a few and

139. *Ibid.* *Kaḷudai-malai*: Lit. "Ass's Rock" in Tamil. Wilks and Orme date the event as on June 26, 1753, and give a detailed account of the action from the English point of view, Orme referring to it as the "Battle of the Golden Rock" (see *Mysoor*, I. 337-339; *History of the Mily. Trans.*, I. 289-293). Writing of this success, Orme says: "Thus was Trichinopoly saved by a success which astonished even those who gained it; nor was the attempt, however desperate it might seem, justified by the success alone, for as the city would inevitably have fallen if the English had remained inactive, so the loss of it would have been hastened only a few days if they had been defeated, and Major Lawrence acted with as much sagacity as spirit, in risquing everything to gain a victory on which alone depended the preservation of the great object of the war." (Orme, *Ibid*). The sequel, however, shows that this success did not end the war. Nanjarājaiya was ill-served by his allies.

140. *Vide* references cited in f.n. 138 *supra*.

141. *Di. A. Pi.*, 374, 376-378: *Notes* dated July 19 and 22, 1753.

scattering the rest, and returned with some horses, cannon, etc., to Nandi Raja who richly rewarded his men."[142] About the 20th, Muhammad Alī, in turn, attacked and defeated the troops of Nanjarājaiya at Allitturai (with M. Maissin as commander of the French), obliging them to flee to Krishṇāpuram with considerable loss.[143] By September 11, however, Nanjarājaiya, with his allies, "closely surrounded Muhammad Ali Khan and the English troops in the fort of Trichinopoly, where provisions are scarce."[144] On the 21st, the Nawāb engaged Nanjarājaiya in an action, in which the latter's troops as well as those of Murāri Rao were defeated and put to flight amidst loss and confusion, their camp plundered, and "the French suffered a great many of their own men to be killed," some of their officers and soldiers being imprisoned.[145] At length Nanjarājaiya arranged with Murāri Rao and the French (now commanded by M. Mainville) to take Trichinopoly by a stratagem.[146] On November 29 (Thursday), at 4 o'clock in the morning, he attempted to storm the fort by the sides of a *darga*.[147] About five to six hundred Frenchmen, we learn,[148] scaled the walls of the outer fort ("*ped-cota*") with the help of ladders, some of them climbing up to the bastion. But the sentries discovered the plot and raised an alarm, whereupon Khair-ud-dīn, with his men and the English

142. *Ibid*, 395: *Notes* dated August 11, 1753; also 383-384, 387-388: *Notes* dated July 25 and 30, 1753 (referring to M. Astruc's quarrels with Nanjarājaiya and his supersession by M. Brenier in July, etc.).

143. *Ibid*, 398: *Notes* dated August 20, 1753; also 397: *Notes* dated August 12, 1753 (referring to the despatch of reinforcement from Pondicherry under M. Maissin, etc.). See also and compare *Count. Corres.*, p. 106: *Letter* No. 178, dated August 24, 1753—Tanjore to Saunders.

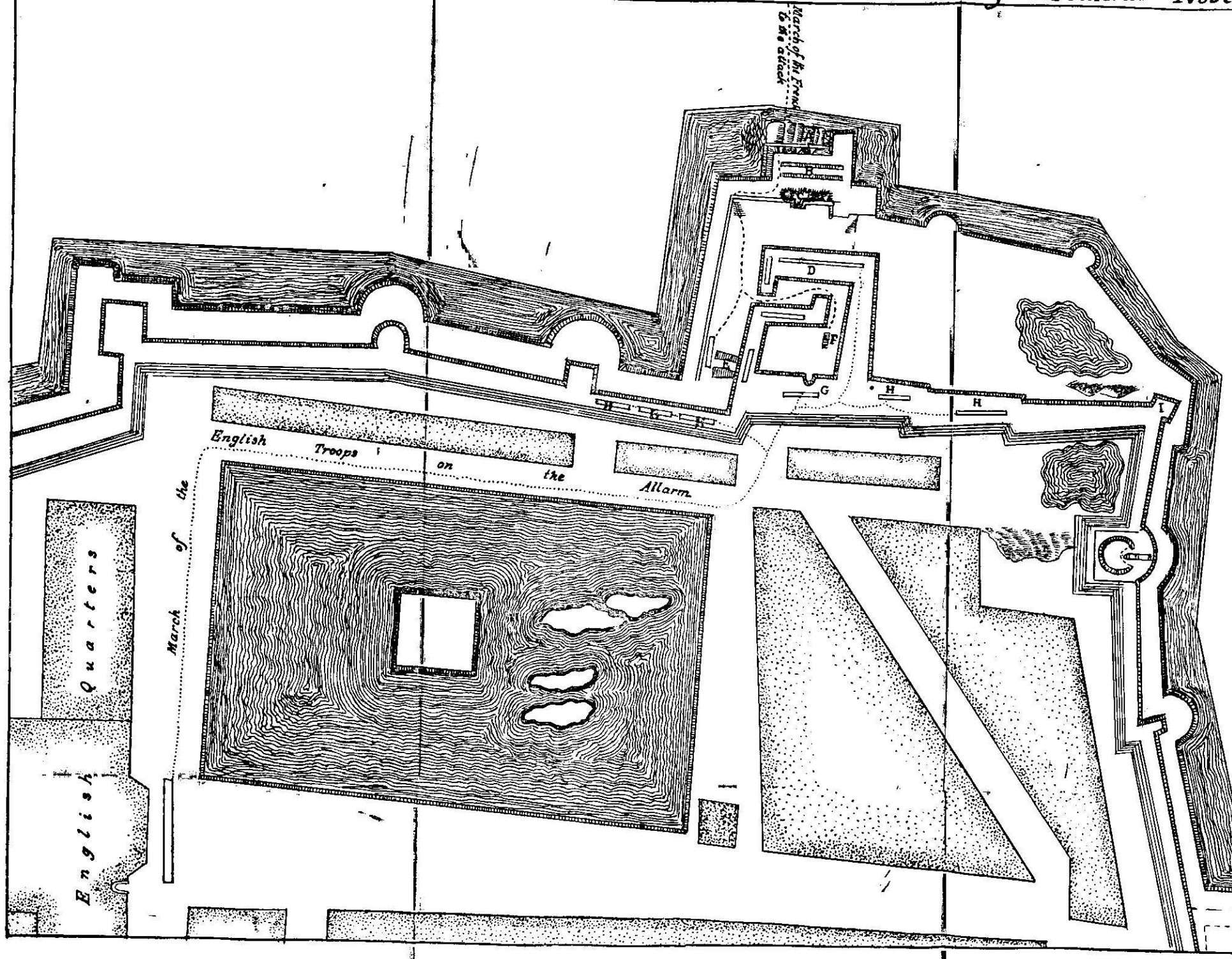
144. *Ibid*, 417: *Notes* dated September 11, 1753.

145. *Count. Corres.*, p. 128: *Letter* No. 239, dated October 7, 1753—Khair-ud-dīn to Saunders; also p. 126: *Letter* No. 231, dated September 24, 1753—Nawāb to Saunders.

146. *Ibid*, pp. 156-157: *Letter* No. 310, dated December 7, 1753—Nawāb to Saunders; see also and compare *Ibid*, pp. 153-154: *Letter* No. 305, dated December 14, 1753—Tanjore to Saunders.

147. *Ibid*, p. 156 *supra*. 148. *Ibid*, *Letter* Nos. 310 and 305, cited *supra*.

PLAN of the Attempt of the French Troops to take TRITCHINAPOLY by Escalade November 28 1753.



A. The Rock on which the Enemy planted their ladders to escalade the Outward Wall.....

B. The Enemy in possession of Dalton's battery

C. A pit 30 feet deep into which several of the Enemy fell in the dark

D. Part of the English Garrison firing on the Enemy from the terrass parallel to Dalton's battery

E. The place where the Enemy attempted to escalade the Terrass

F. A small party of the Enemy with petard to force the inward gate

G. A plaloon of English troops stationed to defend the inward gate

H. English Sepoys defending the inward wall

I. Pascall's battery

troops commanded by Captains Harrison and Kilpatrick, prepared to attack the enemy and opened fire. In the general engagement which followed, the Mysoreans and Murāri Rao retired to Śrīrangam; about 1,000 firelocks with two mortars were seized; 45 Frenchmen were wounded and made their escape, 64 were killed and buried, and 391 (including 8 officers from Pondicherry and 70 wounded) taken prisoners.

January-August 1754.

Despite these continual reverses, Nanjarājaiya at Śrīrangam persisted in his hopes of taking Trichinopoly, and continued hostilities. In particular, since January 1754, he attempted to recover his position by keeping Murāri Rao and the French engaged in his interest,[149] by indenting for a fresh detachment of 2,000 horse from Seringapatam,[150] by re-gathering his strength,[151] and by enlisting recruits by means of advances.[152] "The King of Mysore," news was even current,[153] "has commissioned his vakil to offer 40 lakhs and rupees 10,000 per day to Ballaze Row [Pēshwa Bālāji Rao] to put him in possession of Trichinopoly." Towards the close of August Nanjarājaiya moved on from Śrīrangam to Chercavarpalam, where with the French troops he fixed his camp.[154]

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149. *Ibid* (1754), pp. 3, 11, 31-32, 38, 44 and 47: *Letter* Nos. 3, 17-18, 51, 56, 66 and 76, dated January 4, 16, 20, February 10, 17 and 26, 1754.
150. *Ibid*, pp. 31-32: *Letter* No. 51, cited *supra*; also p. 45: *Letter* No. 72, dated February 3, 1754.
151. *Ibid*, p. 38: *Letter* No. 56, cited *supra*; also p. 79: *Letter* No. 140, dated April 16, 1754.
152. *Ibid*, p. 48: *Letter* No. 76, dated February 26, 1754.
153. *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1754), p. 95: *Consultation* dated April 30, 1754. Already about April 1753, we learn, "a caroat of Rupees" had been offered by the King of Mysore to Bālāji Rao to obtain for him the fort of Trichinopoly, but Bālāji had rejected the offer [see *Count. Corres.* (1753), p. 56: *Letter* No. 97, dated April 5, 1753; also *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1753), p. 81: *Consultation* dated May 21, 1753]. The offer appears to have been renewed with greater zest in 1754, in view of the importance and seriousness of the issue.
154. *Count. Corres.* (1754), p. 154: *Letter* No. 311, dated August 24, 1754—Tanjore to Saunders.